

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 103149

O 241700Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8648

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 3779

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OAS, CI, US

SUBJ: TALKING POINTS FOR SECRETARY'S CALL ON PRESIDENT PINOCHET
DURING OASGA

REF: SANTIAGO 3604

1. THE FOLLOWING MATERIAL IS FOR YOUR USE IN DEVELOPING BRIEFING MATERIALS FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER'S POSSIBLE TRIP TO CHILE FOR THE JUNE OASGA. EMBASSY CAN SUPPLY MORE LANGUAGE IF DESIRED ON SUCH SUBJECTS AS BOLIVIAN CORRIDOR AND COOPERATION ON WORLD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.
2. GOC OBJECTIVE: PINOCHET WILL WANT TO CONVINCE THE SECRETARY THAT CHILE IS NOT THE HOUSE OF TERROR DESCRIBED IN MUCH OF THE U.S. MEDIA. HE MAY GO FURTHER AND HOPE TO WIN THE SECRETARY'S SUPPORT FOR CHILE'S DAUNTLESSLY ANTI-COMMUNIST, FREE-ENTERPRISE REGIME UNFAIRLY SLANDERED BY A VICIOUS, WORLDWIDE, COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED CAMPAIGN.
3. U.S. OBJECTIVE: THE SECRETARY'S OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO CONVINCE PINOCHET THAT WE HAVE DISCOUNTED THE PROPAGANDA BUT FIND CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES MORE REPRESSIVE THAN CIRCUMSTANCES DICTATE, THAT WE CANNOT JUSTIFY THE DOMESTIC COSTS OF DEFENDING HIS REGIME AGAINST ITS CRITICS AT HOME AND ABROAD, AND THAT PINOCHET IN HIS OWN AND U.S. INTERESTS MUST TAKE SPECIFIC STEPS TO IMPROVE HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES.

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4. SETTING: CHILE'S MILITARY LEADERS HAVE REGAINED THEIR CON-

FIDENCE. THEY THINK THAT CUBAN ADVENTURISM AND SOVIET ACTIONS HAVE AWAKENED THE WEST, PARTICULARLY THE U.S., TO THE DANGER LONG TRUMPETED BY CHILE. COPPER PRICES HAVE STRENGTHENED BEYOND EXPECTATIONS, GIVING A MAJOR PSYCHOLOGICAL BOOST TO AN ECONOMY THAT SIX MONTHS AGO WAS DETERIORATING. NO GROUP IN THE COUNTRY CAN WREST POWER FROM THE JUNTA; THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION IS COWED. PERU HAS OVERWHELMING ARMS SUPERIORITY, BUT THE CHILEANS KNOW THEY ARE BETTER FIGHTERS.

SO LONG AS THE MILITARY, AND THE ARMY IN PARTICULAR, REMAIN UNIFIED BEHIND THE JUNTA ITS TENURE IS SECURE-- CERTAINLY IN THE SHORT RUN. HOWEVER, GROWING OPPOSITION, ONLY PARTLY FEEDING UPON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, WILL CHALLENGE THE JUNTA IN THE MID TO LONG-RUN AND MAY BRING SCHISMS WITHIN THE MILITARY. UNIVERSITIES, LABOR, CHURCH AND MEDIA CHAFE AT THE REGIME'S HEAVYHANDED TECHNIQUES. RESTRUCTURING OF THE ECONOMY HAS BROUGHT ENEMIES FROM THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASSES, ALTHOUGH IN STILL LIMITED NUMBERS.

5. THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM: THE CHILEAN MILITARY, AND A LARGE AND INFLUENTIAL SEGMENT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, SEES INTERNATIONAL PREOCCUPATION WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AS THE PRICE TO BE PAID FOR HAVING OVERTHROWN ALLENDE, AN OVERTHROW WHICH EARNED THE ENMITY OF EVERY MARXIST IN THE WORLD. THE GOVERNMENT ADMITS TO SOME ABUSES IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE COUP, AND AFFIRMS THAT RESTRICTIONS ON TRADITIONAL LIBERTIES CONTINUE TO BE NECESSARY BECAUSE OF THE EMERGENCY. BUT IT ARGUES THAT CHILEAN OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BOTH INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND POLITICAL FREEDOMS, FAR EXCEEDS THAT OF MOST OF ITS CRITICS -- ESPECIALLY THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. RATHER THAN TREATING THE WARTS, THE GOC SEEKS TO TURN THE MIRROR. SIMULTANEOUSLY IT ADMITS IT WILL TAKE WHATEVER STEPS IT DEEMS NECESSRY TO EXTIRPATE "DANGEROUS" IDEOLOGIES. IN DOING SO, IT VIOLATES INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AS WELL AS STIFLES POLITICAL FREEDOMS.

6. WE ARE QUICK TO ADMIT TO THE CHILEANS THAT THEY
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ARE THE VICTIMS OF A VINDICTIVE AND COORDINATED INTERNATIONAL, CAMPAIGN WHICH HAS EXAGGERATED AND OFTEN LIED ABOUT EVENTS IN CHILE. NONETHELESS, THE NUMBER OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS HAS BEEN HIGH AND ABUSES CONTINUE -- ARBITRARY ARREST, DISAPPEARANCE, DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL, TORTURE -- ALBEIT AT A LOWER RATE. SUCH EVENTS MAKE IT VERY DIFFICULT FOR US TO BE HELPFUL TO CHILE. OUR INTEREST IN SUPPORTING THE CHILEAN CASE WANED CONSIDERABLY AFTER JULY 1975, WHEN

PRESIDENT PINOCHET ABRUPTLY REFUSED TO PERMIT A
UN HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP INTO THE COUNTRY IN SPITE OF
NUMEROUS ASSURANCES TO US THAT THEY WOULD BE WELCOMED.
WE DO NOT SEEK TO TOUN OUT THIS REGIME --THERE IS NO READY
ALTERNATIVE THAT WOULD MEET OUR INTERESTS. THE MOST IMPORTANT
U.S. INTEREST IN CHILE NOW IS TO IMPROVE HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES,
AND THE SECRETARY'S VISIT PRESENTS A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY.

7. SECRETARY'S TALKING POINTS:

A. COURTESY POINTS:

-- THE SECRETARY SHOULD CONGRATULATE THE GOC FOR CHILE'S
STATESMANLIKE HANDLING OF THE BOLIVIAN CORRIDOR ISSUE AND EXPRESS
THE HOPE SOMETHING SATISFACTORY TO ALL PARTIES CAN BE WORKED
OUT. IT WOULD HELP REMOVE TENSION WITH PERU ALSO.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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O 241700Z APR 76
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8649

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 3779

EXDIS

-- THE USG IS PLEASED WITH THE ENLIGHTENED
POLICIES CHILE HAS ADOPTED WITH RESPECT TO FOREIGN
INVESTMENT AND COPPER MARKETING PROCEDURES, AND WITH
CHILEAN COOPERATION ON BROAD INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC
POLICY AND IN THE LOS CONFERENCE.

B. BILATERAL RELATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS:

--STHE SECRETARY IS AWARE OF GOC SKEPTICISM
ABOUT DETENTE. U.S. OPPOSITION TO SOVIET IMPERIALISM IS WELL
KNOWN, BUT THE QUESTION IS ONE OF AVOIDING NUCLEAR WAR AND
REGULATING US-SOVIET RELATIONS IN AN ERA OF SOVIET SUPER-

POWER CAPABILITY. THE U.S. WILL RESIST IRRESPONSIBLE ACTIONS OR THE EXPANSION OF SOVIET POLITICAL INFLUENCE BY THEIR USE OF FORCE OR SURROGATES.

-- THE ADMINISTRATION RECOGNIZES THAT CHILE HAS BEEN UNFAIRLY CASTIGATED IN MANY RESPECTS BUT KNOWS THAT PROBLEMS EXIST HERE.

-- NOT ALL CRITICS OF CHILE IN THE U.S. ARE "COMMUNIST DUPES" OR POWER-CRAZED POLITICIANS, AND IT IS VERY COSTLY IN DOMESTIC TERMS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO SUPPORT CHILE AS LONG AS EVIDENCE OF ABUSES CROPS UP.

-- THE ADMINISTRATION ITSELF IS SENSITIVE TO THE PROBLEM; EVEN IF IT WERE NOT, CONGRESS
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WOULD LIMIT ITS ABILITY TO COOPERATE WITH THE GOC, AS IT HAS ALREADY DONE.
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-- BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE DETERIORATING TO THE DETRIMENT OF BOTH COUNTRIES' INTERESTS; THEY WILL CONTINUE TO DETERIORATE AS LONG AS THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM PERSISTS. WE DOUBT THAT THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WILL BE CONVINCED OF GOC GOOD FAITH AS LONG AS THE STATE OF SIEGE/ EMERGENCY IS MAINTAINED, AND GUARANTEES OF THE HUMAN PERSON ARE NON-EXISTENT OR NOT RESPECTED. WE, THEREFORE, AS A FRIEND, REQUEST PRESIDENT PINOCHET TO TAKE SPECIFIC MEASURES IN THESE TWO AREAS AS A BASIS FOR FACILITATING OUR TRADITIONALLY CLOSE TIES.

8. POINTS CHILE MIGHT RAISE:

MILITARY SALES: CHILEAN OFFICIALS VIEW PASSAGE OF THE COMPROMISE LANGUAGE IN THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE BILL AS A VICTORY, SINCE IT PERMITS CASH SALES AND DELIVERIES OF EARLIER CASH PURCHASES (MAINLY, F-5E AIRCRAFT). PINOCHET MAY SPEAK OF THE NEED TO IMPROVE U.S.-CHILEAN MILITARY COOPERATION.

U.S. RESPONSE:

-- WE FOUGHT FOR THE COMPROMISE LEGISLATION ON THE HILL.

-- WE DO NOT BELIEVE A COUNTRY SHOULD BE COMPLETELY SHUT OUT OF ACCESS TO OUR ARSENALS AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, HAVE DELIVERIES STOPPED ON MATERIEL

ALREADY PURCHASED.

-- WE ASSUME PINOCHET RECOGNIZES HOW CLOSE
THE CONGRESS CAME TO A TOTAL EMBARGO ON ARMS SALES TO CHILE,
AND THAT THE SURVIVING RESTRICTIONS ARE STILL SEVERE -- RESTRICT-
IONS IMPOSED BY A LARGE MAJORITY OF BOTH OF OUR LEGISLATIVE
HOUSES AND IN LARGE MEASURE SUPPORTED BY THE ADMINISTRATION.

-- THE ENTIRE ISSUE -- AS WELL AS ECONOMIC COOPERATION --
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IN INTIMATELY RELATED TO THE CHILEAN PERFORMANCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS.
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